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THE FACE OF HUMBABA

By SIDNEY SMITH

WITH PLATE XIII

THE old Babylonian tablets inscribed with a version of the Gilgamesh Epic, published by Jastrow and Clay, *Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, serve to restore much of the early part of the story concerning the expedition of Gilgamesh and Enkidu against Huwawa (Old Babylonian) or Humbaba (Assyrian, New Babylonian) lost in the version from Ashurbanipal's library. A translation of this new material may also be found in Ungnad, *Gilgamesch Epos und Odyssee*. The cedar-forest in which Humbaba lived stretched ten thousand miles, and Enkidu became acquainted with this forest when he led a savage life in the mountains before he was brought to Erech to meet Gilgamesh. The cry of Humbaba was a hurricane, his mouth fire, his breath death, he was a raging being whose might was irresistible; but the efforts of Enkidu and the elders of Erech to restrain Gilgamesh from attacking the monster were in vain. The elders of Erech accordingly advised that Enkidu should lead the way, owing to his knowledge of the cedar-forest and Humbaba's methods of attack; they add, 'In the river of Huwawa, for which you yearn, wash your feet, dig a well. . . .'¹ The two heroes set out on their journey, and on the way Gilgamesh had dreams which were interpreted by Enkidu; the incidents which led to the final victory of the pair over Humbaba remain unknown.

Humbaba's appearance was peculiar. It was a bad sign for a woman to give birth to 'the form of a Huwawa'; a misbirth might have 'the features' of a Huwawa, or of a feminine counterpart, Humbabitum. In K.3805, 3, published by Boissier, *Choix*, 91, the face of Humbaba is referred

1. Yale Tablet, 266-8. Jastrow reads *ina batbatika* and translates 'round about thee.' Ungnad suggests, *Z. A.*, XXXIV, 19, *ina miltutika*, and translates 'mit deiner Kraft (?)'. With this 'river of Huwawa for which you yearn' compare the spring of life for which Alexander the Great in the legend yearned, see e.g. the Syriac metrical version published by Budge, *Z. A.*, VI, 357 ff., translated by Hunnius, *Z. D. M. G.*, LX, 191, ll. 166 ff.

to, 'If the entrails are like the face of Humbaba. . . .' Professor Clay has recently published the full text of this omen, *Babylonian Documents in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, Pt. IV, No. 13, which reads, 'If the entrails are like the face of (*ilu*) HUM.HUM., a rebel will rule all the land.' Professor Clay rightly concludes that (*ilu*) HUM.HUM. is to be read Humbaba. According to K.2801, Rev. 44, Humbaba was a god of Sippar-Aruru; he is there mentioned along with the distinctively Kassite gods Shuqamuna and Shimalia. But Humbaba was not exclusively a god; he is actually called 'a devil,' see *M. V. A. G.*, 1918, Pt. II, 6, 21, where a suppliant pleads to Tammuz that various evil spirits who have attacked him may be entrusted to the keeping of 'the mighty Humbaba, the devil who hath no compassion.' This passage satisfactorily explains the reason why Humbaba is apparently connected with Tammuz;¹ he was a minor deity who acted as Tammuz's guardian over evil spirits, and might be beneficent² or malevolent like other beings of this order, e.g. the *sedu*.

Where did Humbaba live? It was long accepted, on the ground that the 'cedar-forest' for Babylonians and Assyrians invariably means the Amanus or the Lebanon, that his habitat was somewhere in Syria. In support of this view various scholars have pointed out the similarity of the name to the *Κομβάβος* whose story is related by Pseudo-Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 19 ff. The story told, however, has nothing in common with that concerning Humbaba in the Gilgamesh epic, and if the name *Κομβάβος* is really to be connected with Humbaba it must first be proved that Humbaba figured in the legend of Hierapolis (Manbij).³ Jensen at first accepted this view, but when the Elamite god Humba became known, he assumed that Humbaba was identical with Humba, and that the cedar-forest lay in the east—an assumption which is one of the bases of his *Gilgamesch Epos in der Weltliteratur*. The most careful discussion of the subject is that by Gressmann, *Gilgamesch Epos*, 111 ff., in which all the available evidence was weighed; Gressmann concluded that the cedar-mountain is Mt. Amanus, since the cedar-mountain in early inscriptions is Mt. Amanus, Mt. Lebanon only being so called after Mt. Amanus became

1. Zimmern, *Tammuz*, 708, 25.

2. In the Neobabylonian period Humbaba appears in theophorous names, obviously as a beneficent deity.

3. It would then perhaps be feasible that the monster Humbaba became the eunuch *Κομβάβος* owing to a confusion between the Babylonian *gallu*, devil, and the *Γαλλος*, priest, well known to the Greeks in Asia Minor and Syria. The confusion may have been aided by the connection of Humbaba with Tammuz, and the similarity of the Ishtar and Tammuz legend to others in which the lover became a eunuch.

denuded. This view Ungnad also seems to hold: his latest pronouncement is that Humbaba lived 'in the west,' *Gilgamesch Epos und Odyssee*, 14. Professor Clay denies the identity of Humbaba and Humba, associates the name not only with *Κομβάβος* but with the Old Testament Hobab,¹ explains the probable meaning of the name as 'monster,' and claims that the cedar-mountain is certainly the Lebanon. I am able to cite two pieces of evidence which have not yet been discussed. (1) The association of Humbaba with Kassite gods at Sippar-Aruru is strong evidence for identifying Humbaba with Humba, the Elamite god. (2) In the tablet B.M. No. 76976 (83-1-18, 2348), Rev. 21, a Neobabylonian duplicate of V.A.T. 8261, cited above, (*ilu*) *Humba* appears where the Assyrian text has (*ilu*) *Hum-ba-ba*.² Neither argument is conclusive; we do not know whether Humba, Shuqamuna and Shimalia were exclusively Elamite gods, or were not borrowed from elsewhere, and the scribe of B.M. No. 76976 may have made a careless error, or have been influenced by an erroneous identification prevalent even in Babylonian times. Yet these two points must be considered, and it would be well to refrain from dogmatising on the point. Undoubtedly all our present knowledge of Babylonian inscriptions favours Gressmann's view, but it is not certain.

Humbaba's peculiar appearance is illustrated by an object in the British Museum, No. 116624, see Pl. XIII, obtained by the Trustees, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish it, in the year 1883. The object measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the back is almost flat, but there is a slightly convex curve, and thereon is an inscription consisting of three and two lines, divided by a considerable space. The front surface is convex, and represents a monstrous face, of which the peculiar feature is that it consists of a long strip of clay, turned and twisted about in such a way as to represent all the important features. The background on which the strip was laid was smooth, except for the eyes, which were modelled for the strip to be laid round them. The script is Neobabylonian, and the forms of certain signs, *e.g.* ŠU, ARAD, AMELU, incline me to date the object to the period of Assyrian domination, that is, the seventh century B.C. The object was found at Sippar.

The face is certainly intended to represent Humbaba, as appears from

1. A very unlikely assumption, if Humbaba means 'monster.'

2. According to Ebeling, *M. V. A. G.*, 1918, Pt. II, 6, this reading is 'gewiss,' but his copy shows the signs as doubtful.

the inscription, and the object at once explains why the entrails¹ of the sacrificial victim might be said to resemble the face of Humbaba. The single line is peculiar, and unknown on any object of Mesopotamian, Assyrian or Babylonian origin; during the Hyksos period in Egypt, perhaps even as early as the Eleventh Dynasty, certain scarabs and plaques are found with figures drawn with a single line,² but the style bears no resemblance to this face of Humbaba. Some very interesting questions arise from this representation which need consideration. (1) Is this model face of Humbaba a late conception of the god or demon? (2) Is the peculiarity of the face due to the comparison of the entrails with the face of Humbaba, or did the comparison with the entrails first arise owing to the peculiarity of the face? (3) If Humbaba always had this peculiar face, can any satisfactory reason be assigned for the form? These questions may be thus answered.

(1) On the back of this face the omen quoted above, 'If the entrails are like the face of Humbaba, a rebel will rule all the land,' appears in the slightly different form, 'If the entrails (resemble) the face of Huwawa, it is the omen of Sargon who ruled the land.' There cannot be any doubt that the Sargon referred to is Sargon of Agade, for omens of Sargon and Naram-Sin occur elsewhere in the late compilations of omens from the internal parts of sacrificial victims, in which omens noted at various dates are included. Now although, in the absence of any early tablets recording omens of this class, the matter is not definitely settled, the general view of these omens which refer to various rulers is that they are copied from observations recorded in their reigns, available to the later scribes. The historical allusions in them can be shown to correspond to the inscriptions of the kings themselves. It is therefore highly probable that in the reign of Sargon of Agade the entrails of a victim were thought to resemble the face of Humbaba. This implies that Humbaba was already supposed to have a face similar to that shown on B.M. No. 116624; the late representation, as one would expect, is true to an early conception already known in Babylonia about 2750 B.C. Some corroboration of this

1. The texts published by Clay, *Babylonian Documents in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, Pt. IV, Nos. 13, 15, 16, finally prove that SAG.NIGIN is to be transliterated *tiranu* and that the translation, in view of the comparisons with different objects, can only be 'viscera, entrails,' as Jensen long ago pointed out; Jastrow and others have held that it was a portion of the liver, but this view is now impossible. The word *tiranu* is clearly a noun formation from *tāru*, and means 'that which turns round and round.'

2. See Hornblower, *Scarabs of the Hyksos Period*, J. E. A., IX.

argument may be deduced from the fact that the name Humbaba is given in the form *Huwawa*, which is that used in the Old Babylonian version. Omens which employ this form were almost certainly written down before the end of the First Dynasty. It is in fact very probable that B.M. No. 116624 is simply a copy made from an older object for the use of the *baru* priest whose name it bears.

(2) The face of Humbaba may be represented as consisting of a single line simply to accentuate the possible resemblance of the entrails to it, but why was the face of Humbaba chosen in the first place? The face of Humbaba already had something peculiar about it before the comparison was made. The nature of the other objects to which the entrails were compared, *e.g.* a crescent, a scimitar, breasts, a bull, a womb, etc., implies that the face of Humbaba was already well known for a certain peculiarity, though the exact form in B.M. No. 116624 may be due to the subsequent comparison with the entrails.

(3) The peculiarity of the face of Humbaba is to be compared with certain other peculiarities of this monster. 'The cry of Humbaba is a hurricane, his mouth fire, his breath death'; a passage from which Professor Haupt has concluded that Humbaba was a volcano,¹ a reasonable interpretation with which other evidence seems to accord. In the Akkadian version from Boghaz Keui,² which partially restores the old version of Gilgamesh's dreams, it would appear that a vision of a man who saturates Gilgamesh with water portends safety for the hero, according to Enkidu's interpretation, which is natural if the danger from Humbaba was fire. From the Hittite version of the same period,³ about 1300 B.C., it appears that the sun-god prevented Humbaba moving forwards or backwards, by loosing eight different kinds of winds, 'a great wind, a north wind . . . a storm wind, a cold wind, a whirlwind, a bad wind.' This is a very possible description of the end of a volcanic outbreak. That Humbaba's mountain was wooded is no argument against it being volcanic, since the lower regions of volcanoes are sometimes wooded, sometimes covered with vegetation.⁴ What the 'river of

1. See Jastrow and Clay, *Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 21. I have not had access to any publication of the paper mentioned. Note that the name Humbaba is probably to be connected with the root *hababu* (apparently in an earlier form *hawawu*), and would then mean 'he who makes a rumbling noise.'

2. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, IV, No. 12.

3. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, VI, 1, 30-32: the writer depends for the interpretation of this text entirely on Ungnad, *Gilgamesch Epos und Odyssee*, 20-21.

4. Instances may be found enumerated by Haupt in *Z. D. M. G.*, LXIII, 508 ff.

Huwawa ' may be, if Humbaba is a volcano, is not so clear ; surely not the lava stream, seeing that the elders advised Gilgamesh to wash his feet in it, but rather an actual river in close proximity to the mountain. In short, Professor Haupt's view may be reasonably held the best explanation of this half-god, half-devil who was associated with deities of the underworld. It would above all explain the reason why Humbaba was supposed to have this monstrous face. The fantastic forms sometimes assumed by lava may well have given rise to the fanciful representation of the demon of the volcano. The comparison of such a fanciful representation with the entrails of the sacrificial victim would then lead to the ingenious manufacture of this face, which consists of a single line.¹

If Humbaba be a personified volcano, the view that he is a historical personage, strongly held by Professor Clay,² must be discarded. Indeed the present writer is unable to believe that any of these beings, Gilgamesh, Enkidu, Etana and the rest, are historical characters ;³ they bear no resemblance to deified kings as known from later periods, but rather to gods conceived as men. Their stories should be compared rather with that of Dionysus than with that of Alexander.⁴ The Babylonians were very convinced euhemerists. The Anunnaki first built Etemenanki, the ziggurat at Babylon ; Marduk had sat in council in Esagila ; Tammuz had walked and talked in the land. Until contemporary inscriptions prove these beings to have been human, they are incredible.

It is unfortunate that Humbaba's habitat cannot be located with certainty, because this might settle the question definitely. But it may be noted that if the ' cedar-mountain ' be the Amanus range, the probability that the description of Humbaba was derived from some volcanic eruption in the Taurus or Anti-Taurus is very considerable, since there are districts of this type in those two ranges. It would also give point to the fact that the records from Boghaz Keui contain several fragments of the epic. I am inclined to answer the third question stated above ; the peculiarity of Humbaba's face, which must first have given rise to the comparison with the entrails, may be due to a fanciful representation of the demon

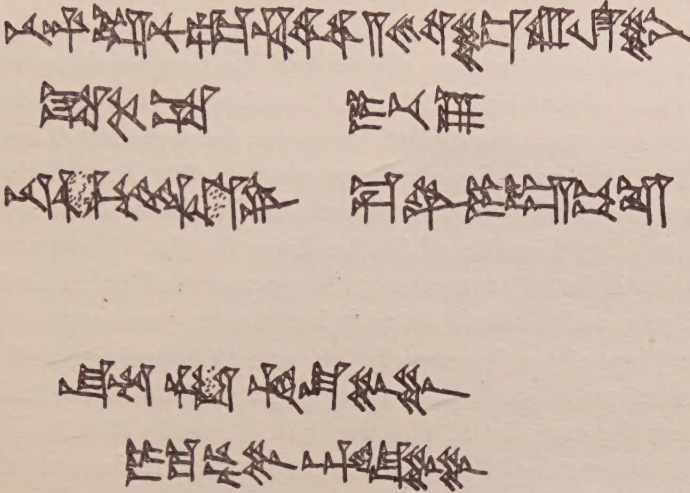
1. I have asked Mr. T. A. Joyce, the Deputy Keeper of Ceramics and Ethnology at the British Museum, whether he knows of any parallels to this demon and his face, but he knows of nothing similar.

2. *Empire of the Amorites*, 87 ff. ; *Hebrew Deluge Story*, 49 ff.

3. So *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 366 ff.

4. Actual kings may have been confused with gods, but these legends need not therefore be considered in any way historical ; the story of Gilgamesh probably existed long before he was confused with any king.

of the volcano which imitated, so far as the face was concerned, a lava stream.



The inscription on the back of the object reads, so far as I can decipher it, as follows :—

- (1) *Šumma ti-ra-nu mahar* ¹ *Hu-wa-wa II* ² *piristu(tu) Šar-ru-ki-in* ³
- (2) *ša mata (ta) i-be-lu.*
- (3) *Šumma* [not deciphered] *bit ameli i-ra-bi-iš.*
- (4) *qat Ardi-(ilu) Nannar baru.* ⁴
- (5) *mar Ku-ub-bu-rum baru.*

The translation is as follows : ‘ If the entrails [resemble] the face of Huwawa, it is the omen of Sargon, who ruled the land. If . . . , the house of a man will extend. Hand of Ardi-Nannar, the seer, son of Kubburum, the seer.’ The object was made by a *baru* priest, presumably for the purpose of comparison with actual entrails he inspected in the course of his duties.

1. Sign SAG. Since the parallel omens in Boissier and Clay’s publications cited above have ŠI, this seems to be the correct reading in every case.

2. i.e. DO; read *emu* or the like.

3. Clearly the personal name although the determinative is omitted, as in the names in lines 4-5.

4. MAS.SU.BU.BU. The ideogram appropriate to the *baru* as being the priest concerned with divination.

The fact that Sargon is named where the parallel omen uses the term 'rebel' is interesting, since it shows that Sargon was the typical rebel in the tradition of the priesthood. We are in fact able to affirm with some certainty from whom he rebelled. It has been pointed out by Gadd, *Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, 23-25, that Sargon was the cupbearer of Ur-Ilbaba, and that his reign almost certainly commenced immediately on the death of that king. All other Assyriologists who have dissented from this view have assumed that Sargon was the cupbearer of the deified Ur-Ilbaba.¹ Professor Langdon now states² that Dr. Weidner has found a text at Berlin which states that Ur-Ilbaba ordered his cupbearer, Sargon, to bring the wine of libation from Esagila. This proves that Gadd's view is the only correct one; Sargon was an official in the lifetime of Ur-Ilbaba, and therefore his reign includes the years assigned to the last five kings of the dynasty of Kish, and to Luggalzaggisi of Erech. Sargon most probably rebelled immediately after the death of Ur-Ilbaba, that is on the accession of Zimudar, but it may be that his rebellion occurred at the end of Ur-Ilbaba's reign, to which an impossible length is assigned by the dynastic lists.

1. Following Father Scheil, who gave this explanation, *R. A.*, XVIII, 100.

2. The Weld-Blundell Collection, Vol. II, 3. Why Professor Langdon rejects this evidence as legendary, when he accepts legends as historical (see Weld-Blundell Collection, Vol. I, 3) is not clear.



THE FACE OF HUMBABA.
BRITISH MUSEUM, No. 116624.
Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. x, p. 171)

XXVII. THE PRE-MEROITIC HISTORICAL GAP IN LOWER NUBIA

THE archaeologist is confronted everywhere in Lower Nubia by groups of remains which have well-defined and distinct characteristics and are attributable to definite periods, but these periods are separated from each other by more or less complete voids; and practically the same voids occur throughout the region at the same chronological points. The proto-dynastic cemetery at Faras, as elsewhere, probably ended about the middle of the First Dynasty,¹ and is in every respect entirely distinct from the C-group cemetery, the beginning of which cannot be placed earlier than the end of the Sixth Dynasty.² Again the C-group cemeteries of Lower Nubia appear to the present writer to end with the Egyptian conquests of the Twelfth Dynasty, and are hardly linked up by the scanty remains of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom to the Egyptian temples and colonies of the New Kingdom. The temple blocks at Faras belong solely to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, although the record of the New Kingdom in the region can be brought down by scattered inscriptions and monuments to the Twentieth Dynasty.³

a. FROM THE NEW KINGDOM TO THE PTOLEMIES

In Egypt, after the New Kingdom we see the power of Thebes falling into decay, Lower Egypt rising in importance with the growth of Mediterranean trade, and military dynasties originating from captains of Libyan

1. *Annals*, VIII, p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 77-78.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 101; Reisner, *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, pp. 48-52.

mercenaries seizing the throne. The Twenty-first Dynasty arose from Tanis, the Twenty-second from Heracleopolis and Bubastis, the Twenty-third Dynasty was one of several rival families each of which possessed a realm of its own. From one of these, at Napata, Professor Reisner considers that the great Ethiopian Dynasty which conquered Egypt was derived.¹ The Assyrian invasions in the seventh century weakened the Ethiopian hold on the north and led to the welding together of the Egyptian Kingdom by Psammetichus of Sais. After a century and a quarter of prosperity under the Saite kings Egypt fell under the domination of the Persians for about the same length of time, on which there followed successful revolt and the establishment of a series of native Deltaic dynasties for over sixty years. Again the Persians conquered under Ochus, but in ten years more they were overcome in turn by Alexander, and thirty years later in 304 the Ptolemaic Dynasty was established, lasting until the dethronement of Cleopatra by Octavian in 30 B.C. Its hold on Upper Egypt, so far as we know, was unbroken except for twenty years from the sixteenth year of Philopator to the nineteenth of Epiphanes, 206-186 B.C., when the Nubian kings Ergamenes and Azakhelaman appear to have extended their rule to the borders of Egypt at Philae and supported the native kings in revolt at Thebes,² and again about 87-84 B.C. when another revolt of Thebes was heavily punished by Lathyrus.

In Lower Nubia after the New Kingdom, the first trace of human existence that we find consists of scanty and not very important remains of the Ethiopian king Tahraq³ including inscriptions of the nineteenth year on the path behind the Bâb el-Kalabscha;⁴ and it would not be justifiable as yet to quote a puzzling fragment of sculpture⁵ from the Meroitic cemetery of Faras as representing the Ethiopian Kingdom of Napata there, since it seems rather to belong to the series of slabs of Tutankhamun's temple; next in age to Tahraq are the famous Greek and Phoenician inscriptions on the colossus of Ramesses II at Abu-Simbel. But these are no evidence of settled life or habitation, and the graves attributable to all this period are exceedingly few.⁶ Afterwards there is a

1. *The Royal Family of Ethiopia* in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, XIX, 21-38.

2. Cf. Sethe, *Die historische Bedeutung des zweiten Philä-Dekrets*, in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, LIII, 43.

3. *Annals*, IX, p. 68.

4. Roeder, *Debd bis Bab Kalabsche*, pp. 211, 216 and Pl. 127.

5. *Annals* VIII, pp. 91-92 and Pl. XXVII, 12.

6. *Annals*, IX, p. 68.

complete blank until the Ptolemaic age.¹ It is evident that neither the Saite kings of Egypt nor their successors on the one hand, nor the Ethiopian kings of Napata on the other, interested themselves seriously in the somewhat unremunerative passage-way of Lower Nubia, although the Egyptian pottery from the later graves of Sanam² proves that Napata continued to trade with Egypt long after Psammetichus had recovered the Upper Country from the Ethiopians.

b. THE DODECASCHOENUS AND PTOLEMAIC POWER IN NUBIA

It is probable that the Dodecaschoenus counted as a separate unit in Lower Nubia before the Ptolemaic period. It is referred to obscurely by Herodotus in his description of the region about the Cataract, and a Ptolemaic inscription at Sehêl even professes to be a decree of Zoser of the Third Dynasty granting rights over it to the temple of Khnum at Elephantine. In the later age Philae was its metropolis and it extended southward to include Dakka (Pselchis). Unfortunately the monuments in the Dodecaschoenus do not help before the Ptolemaic age, when many temples were built, or rebuilt on New Kingdom sites, and possibly destroyed records of the intervening ages; even Philae shows nothing substantial before Nekhtnebus I, though there may have been work there of Tahraq and Amasis II. So far as we know, no Ptolemaic or Roman ruler had his name inscribed on any building in Nubia south of the Dodecaschoenus. The earliest of the Ptolemies whose name is found south of Philae is Philopator at Dakkeh. At the end of his reign Upper Egypt revolted and remained independent till the nineteenth year of his successor. The names of two Nubian kings occur at this time:—Ergamenes, who is said to have received a Greek education, built at Philae and at Dakkeh, the Egyptian priests there giving him similar titles to those borne by Philopator; and Azakhelaman built at Debod. Evidently the troubles in Egypt enabled them to assert their authority as far as the Cataract, leaving Upper Egypt in the hands of friendly native kings, Harmakhis and his successor Ankhmakhis.³

The first mention of the Dodecaschoenus on the monuments is when Ergamenes at Dakkeh grants to Isis of Philae her 'boundary towards (?) Ethiopia, from Syene to Tacompso, making twelve schoeni on the west

1. Cf. Firth in *Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1909-1910*, p. 23.
2. *Annals*, X, pp. 89, 93.

3. Above, p. 116, n. 2.

and twelve schoeni on the east.' After the suppression of the revolt in Upper Egypt the Ptolemies must have definitely taken over the Dodecaschoenus, and not only temples but also contemporary burials¹ bear witness to the settled life of its Egyptian or Egyptianised inhabitants. No doubt it served as a barrier against attacks on Egypt, and above all it secured the way to the gold mines in the Wâdî Allâqi which reaches the east bank of the Nile beyond Dakkeh, just within the boundary.

South of the Dodecaschoenus we have only a few records of Cyrenaean Greeks in the temple built by Hatshepsut at Buhon opposite Wâdî Halfa. From this place Professor Sayce published two graffiti of Cyrenaean, attributing them to the second or third century B.C.;² and in 1912 the present writer removed into the temple for safety a sandstone slab inscribed ΦΙΛΟΚΩΜΟ[
ΚΥΡΗΝΑΙΟ[perhaps a grave-stone, which lay amongst the slabs forming a pathway for tourists through the river gateway of the temple. Mr. M. N. Tod, on the strength of my rough hand-copy, assigns the lettering to the period from the fourth to the second century B.C. The only other evidence of direct Ptolemaic influence beyond the Dodecaschoenus is contained in an inscription from the region of the First Cataract³ recording that in the reign of Philometor (181-146 B.C.) a certain Boethus, a Carian, founded the cities of Philometoris and Cleopatra in the Triacontaschoenus, perhaps the name of the district between the First and Second Cataracts.

These and the few scraps enumerated in the preceding section are all the materials we possess to fill the enormous gap of nearly a thousand years between the New Kingdom and the prosperous 'Meroitic' age in Lower Nubia.

On the survey of the history it seems evident that civilisation never had more than a slender hold upon Nubia. Egyptian kings could build temples and Egyptian colonists and resident officials could temporarily uplift the land to a certain degree of prosperity; even a barbarian tribe under a settled system of government by their own rulers could rise to a good degree of culture. But Egyptian rule meant the enslavement of the Nubians or at least the destruction of their initiative, and it is obvious that a prolonged famine or a succession of raids along the narrow valley could annihilate civilisation. After such a calamity, for a longer or shorter

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1. Cf. Firth in *A.S.N. Report*, 1908-1909, Ch. VI.
 2. *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XVII, 39.
 3. Dittenberger, *O. G. I. S.*, No. 111.

time according to circumstances, no inscription would be engraved, no building raised of a permanent character, no ornamental wares produced. Coming down to modern times we see that the last five centuries before the British occupation have left little in Nubia to mark their passage; yet there remain at least the cemeteries full of bones, buried without accompaniments in the Muhammedan style, but here and there marked by an inscribed stone. In those long dark intervals of antiquity, on the other hand, not even cemeteries yield evidence of occupation of the ground by man. We seem driven to conclude that the land went out of cultivation and the inhabitants were reduced to a few nomads in extreme poverty. Sheltering in ruins or in huts made of tamarisk boughs, they wandered from place to place in search of pasture for their goats and a scanty subsistence for themselves, and buried their dead, if at all, under a light covering of sand and stones in the desert, from which the hyena would drag the bodies and devour them. Gradually the population would increase, but on the same barbarous lines of life, until some new impulse towards civilisation asserted itself.

XXVIII. THE MEROITIC KINGDOM

Since our work in Nubia came to an end the researches of Dr. Reisner at Napata and Meroe, in the course of which he has scientifically excavated the whole of their pyramid fields, have provided a complete historical scheme of the kings of Ethiopia (a quarter of them still nameless) for eleven hundred years,¹ whereas heretofore only four points had any definition, namely the fifty years of Ethiopian domination over Egypt, the episodes of Ergamenes and of Candace and Petronius, and the Axumite invasion. The scheme is founded on archaeological evidence, very carefully weighed and ingeniously combined, written records giving deplorably little help. It is doubtless liable to correction by further discovery, but can be accepted at once, at the very least, as a solid working hypothesis.

According to Dr. Reisner, after 450 years of supremacy, Napata was forced to cede at least an equal place to Meroe about 300 B.C., in or immediately after the reign of Nastasen. Here then begins the 'Meroitic

1. Reisner, *The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia* in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, IX, especially pp. 75-76 and p. 157.

period of Ethiopia.' But a line of kings labelled the 'First Meroitic Kingdom of Napata' ruled at Napata for some eighty years after Nastasen down to the time of Ergamenes. It may be that the enlightened Ergamenes, after annihilating the priestly power in Napata, contrived the 'Meroitic' alphabet to enable his people to read and write their native tongue, although it may be doubted whether any example of it has been discovered earlier than 50 B.C. A 'Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata' began about 100 B.C. and continued through five reigns down to the harrying of Northern Nubia and the destruction of Napata by Petronius in 22 B.C.¹ The kings of Meroe on the other hand persisted in all for more than six hundred years, until Aeizanas of Axum led his Abyssinian troops down the Atbara and up the Nile and destroyed the last remnants of their power in the middle of the fourth century A.D.

The Meroitic Period is a convenient term, apart from its political justification which is now fully confirmed, for the time during which pagan Nubia with its numerous survivals from Egyptian art and religion was influenced by the contemporary Hellenistic culture of Greece and Rome. In Lower Nubia the flourishing time of this mixed civilisation appears to extend from the end of the first century B.C. to the middle of the third century A.D., during which it is represented by an abundance of antiquities in the cemeteries. The weakness of the last Ptolemies and their conflict with Rome, when a large part of Upper Egypt was neglected entirely,² must have encouraged the Meroites to push northward down the valley of the Nile.

In the first year of the Roman domination, 29 B.C., Cornelius Gallus, the prefect of Egypt, after putting down an insurrection in the Thebais, received at Philae an embassy from the (Meroitic) king of Ethiopia and took him under his protection; and further appointed a 'tyrant' or petty king for the Triacontaschoenus at the border (?) of Ethiopia (in f[ine] Aeth.).³ All this we learn from his trilingual inscription discovered by Lyons and Borchardt in their excavation of Philae.

As for the district called the Triacontaschoenus, Ptolemy the geographer

1. For Petronius' expedition see my *Meroitic Studies*, IV, in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, IV, 159 *et seqq.* It is evident that Dr. Reisner's scheme would not admit the identification of Candace with the Queen of Meroe on the stela of Akinizaz there advocated in accordance with Professor Sayce's view.

2. Compare the exaggerated phrases in the Gallus inscription, Dittenberger, *O. G. I. S.*, No. 654.

3. According to Maspero's restoration which is accepted by subsequent editors, *O. G. I. S.*, II, 9.

(c. A.D. 150) places it in the region southward from the Second Cataract.¹ It may be that it lay there, far off from Egypt, but from this inscription and the other in which it is mentioned² it would be more appropriate to identify it as the country between the two cataracts (including the Dodecaschoenus) which the Ptolemies and consequently Augustus' prefect may well have claimed as in their sphere of influence; the geographer seems often in error about positions in Ethiopia, and the term was probably no longer of political importance in his day.

The district from Syene to the temple of Ofeduine comprised in the twelve schoeni of the Dodecaschoenus measures 123 kilometres along the river, giving $10\frac{1}{4}$ kilometres to the schoenus. From Syene to the Second Cataract the distance along the river is 360 kilometres (with the great bend which might indeed be cut short by the desert road), making thirty-five of these schoeni, but the number thirty is obviously a round one.

In 23 B.C. the Ethiopians were roused to attack Egypt while the new prefect Aelius Gallus was embarrassed in Arabia. They captured Philae, Elephantine and Syene; but Petronius, the third prefect, drove them back to Pselchis (Dakka), defeated them there with great loss, and marched forward to Napata which he captured and destroyed. He then strengthened and garrisoned Primis (Ibrim), and eventually sent on the envoys of Candace to the emperor at Samos, where Augustus granted them all they asked and even remitted the taxes which he had imposed.³

The long peace that ensued evidently brought great prosperity to the Ethiopians of Lower Nubia. It is not as yet easy to determine precisely on what this prosperity was based; perhaps it was simply that a settled form of government in Egypt and in Ethiopia with friendly relations between the two countries brought plentiful passengers, freight, and trade to the sailors of Lower Nubia and a good demand for all cattle, corn and dates that could be produced by the scanty patches of cultivation on the banks of the Nubian Nile. The gold mines of the eastern desert may have contributed also to the prosperity of the valley.

The Dodecaschoenus formed the northern boundary of the Meroitic population and rule. Dr. Blackman found some Meroitic potsherds on the town site of Pselchis at Dakka,⁴ but the northernmost Meroitic

1. *Geogr.*, IV, 7. 32.

2. Above, p. 118.

3. The passage in Strabo, XVII, 816, is translated in my *Meroitic Studies*, IV, in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, IV, 160.

4. Cf. also Firth in *A.S.N. Report* 1909-1910, pp. 24, 35-37, and Pls. 23, 24, where the town-site bears the curious label 'Cemetery 100.'

cemetery in Mr. Firth's exhaustive exploration for the Archaeological Survey of Nubia was No. 131, just south of Maharraqa.¹ Roman garrisons occupied the Dodekaschoenus until they were withdrawn by Diocletian about A.D. 290.

So long as Egypt flourished during the first two centuries of Roman rule, Lower Nubia flourished with it. It is probable that, apart from the actual metropolis at Meroe, the northern province, thanks to the good influence of its neighbour, was the most prosperous and civilised part of the Meroitic Empire, and the tribes of the eastern desert were under its control. But the progressive impoverishment of Egypt from the end of the second century² must have gradually brought the trade and industries of Lower Nubia to ruin and sapped its strength, until after another century these tribes, no longer subject to nor even awed by the Meroites, plundered their farms and villages as they did those of Egypt. Thus it was not Ethiopians but Blemmyes against whom Diocletian took the precaution of encouraging the Nobatae from the west to occupy the Dodekaschoenus when the Romans finally abandoned it and the gold mines, and it may be doubted whether Meroitic Ethiopians survived at all at that time in Lower Nubia.

In the far south it was probably different. Dr. Reisner carries on his line of kings of Meroe for another sixty years. In the middle of the fourth century black 'Nōbā' had ousted the 'Kāsū' (Cushites, Ethiopians, Meroites) from some of their towns on the Nile and about the 'Takkazzē' (Atbara);³ they had followed up the course of the Atbara and begun to attack the 'red' people, defying the warnings of 'Ēzānā,' the king of 'Aksūm' in Abyssinia. Aeizanas gathered his army, defeated the Nōbā at Kemalkē, and pursued them for twenty-three days to the 'Sēdā' (Nile?) and pillaged and destroyed both the straw-hut villages of the Nōbā and the built towns of the Kāsū. From the junction of the Sēdā and the Takkazzē he sent his troops southward as far as 'Alwā' (Sōbā), the southern capital of the Kāsū on the Blue Nile, and northward until they reached the 'red Nōbā,' capturing the towns of the Kāsū and (black) Nōbā, and slaying or enslaving the inhabitants. The whole expedition seems to have been intended to punish the blacks, perhaps related to

1. *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Bulletin No. 7*, p. 111.

2. See Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 66.

3. For the following see Littmann's interpretation of the great inscription in *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, IV, pp. 32-35.

the modern Nūba tribes of the hills of Kordofān, who had been molesting the reds (Hamitic peoples ?) towards Abyssinia. The 'red Nōbā' in the north, who were left unmolested, were probably the Nubi and Blemmyes now settled in the valley of the Nile. This destructive expedition was evidently the death-blow to the Meroitic kingdom.

XXIX. BLEMMYES AND NUBIANS

According to Eratosthenes, writing in the second half of the third century B.C., the country below Meroe and above Egypt, west of the Nile, was inhabited by Nubae who were independent of Meroe and were divided into several kingdoms of their own ; on the east side there were Megabari and Blemmyes, subject to the Ethiopians (Meroites) and bordering on the Egyptians, while Troglodytes inhabited the parts by the Red Sea. As Eratosthenes flourished from the last year of the reign of Philadelphus to the end of that of Philopator, Lower Nubia and the Dodecaschoenus may have been in the possession of either Egypt or of the Meroites when he wrote.

The dry Libyan deserts probably kept the Nubian tribes at a distance from the Nile valley, and they were therefore neither subject to the Meroites nor were they in close touch with Egypt until, long afterwards, Diocletian tempted them to occupy the Dodecaschoenus ; but on the east side the scanty nomads wandered everywhere. Thus, while the Nubae have not yet been recognised in Ptolemaic documents, a 'Mekhabar born in Egypt' with the Egyptian name Pabûs is mentioned in a demotic contract from Edfû of the reign of Philopator, and is son of a certain Harmais who is elsewhere described as a 'Belhemmw born in Egypt.'¹ It seems as if Blemmyes and Megabari were readily confused in Egypt. There are other instances of 'Blemmyes born in Egypt'² and even of Philae-people ('man of Pilak born in Egypt')³ in Ptolemaic documents, showing that the Dodecaschoenus right down to Syene was reckoned either by nationality, language, or geography to be outside the bounds of Egypt proper. The Meroites are evidently designated by the name

1. See the article on the Megabari by Möller, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, LV, 79-81. The identification of Mekhabar was first noted by Griffith, *Or. Lit. Zeit.*, XVII, 350. The modern Mukaber-âb count themselves as a branch of the Ja'lin, see MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Index, s.v.

2. Griffith, *Cat. Rylands Pap.*, III, 139 (Ptol. VII).

3. *Ibid.*, 152 (Philopator and Cleopatra III).

Ekosh in Egyptian, applied for instance to the Ethiopian supporters of the native Upper Egyptian dynasty in its struggle with Epiphanes.¹

Strabo borrows from Agatharchides (writing about 130 B.C.) a description of the manners and customs of the Megabari (under which name he perhaps included the Blemmyes), their mode of burial under heaps of stones and their primitive methods of fighting (probably with some exaggeration); their numbers were few and they were not warlike. During the first centuries of the Roman rule Egypt suffered little or nothing from these tribes, thanks to the good guarding of the frontiers, although they were a danger to travellers in the eastern desert. In the third century A.D., however, the Blemmyes became formidable, and in the reign of Decius in 250 we hear of raids by them on the Egyptian borders; they seem to have spread northward and soon dominated the trade routes between the Nile and the Red Sea. When Diocletian in or about 290 withdrew the Roman garrisons from the Dodecaschoenus he encouraged the Nobatae from the western desert to settle in the valley, giving them an annual subsidy to protect Upper Egypt against the Blemmyes. In the second quarter of the fifth century Olympiodorus is stated to have been well received by the pagarchs and priests of the Blemmyes (*sic*), and visited their cities from Talmis (Kalabsheh) as far south as Prima, *i.e.* Ibrîm opposite Anibeh, some fifty miles north of Faras. During all this time no attack was made on Egypt, and the tribes settled in the Dodecaschoenus, whether Nobatae or Blemmyes or both together, seem to have lived in sufficient amity with each other. But towards 450 we hear again of a Blemmy raid on Egypt, and in 453 the Byzantine generals Maximinus and Florus compelled both Blemmyes and Nobatae to agree to peace for a hundred years on condition that they were permitted to visit the temple of Isis at Philae (which island still belonged to the Empire) and borrow the statue of the goddess to take to their own country. At the expiration of the period named Justinian closed the temple and carried off the statues to Constantinople.² Shortly afterwards, Christianity finally drove out paganism from the Nubian valley.

Philae throughout this time was apparently the frontier post of the Empire, which therefore held the entire First Cataract. The rest of the

1. Above, p. 116, n. 2.

2. For the above events see Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, and Sethe's excellent article *Blemmyes* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopädie*.

Dodecaschoenus was held by the barbarians and there the 'X group' graves of this 'Byzantine period' are common enough, and they continue to be so southward as far as the Archaeological Survey of Nubia was carried, namely, to Wâdî Sabu'. Prosperity and civilisation would decrease as the distance grew from the capital settlement at Talmis (?) and from the Egyptian frontier, and at Faras there seems very little to be attributed to the 'Byzantine' age.

To Messrs. MacIver and Woolley, acting for Mr. Eckley B. Coxe and the University of Pennsylvania, is due the first revelation of the remarkable field of Meroitic archaeology in Lower Nubia, by means of a series of excavations at Shablûl, Anîbeh (Karanøg), and Buhon opposite Halfa, followed by detailed publications. They very correctly diagnosed these antiquities as Romano-Nubian but made the mistake of connecting them with the Blemmyes¹ whom we now look upon as the barbarian destroyers of the Romano-Nubian culture.

1. See their *Karanøg*, vol. III, chapter XII, with Appendix I, which contains the statements of Greek and Latin writers on Nubia in the Roman and Byzantine ages.

REVIEWS

The Early Iron Age Inhabited Site at All Cannings Cross Farm, Wiltshire. A Description of the Excavations, and Objects found, by Mr. and Mrs. B. H. Cunningham, 1911-1922. By M. E. CUNNINGTON (Mrs. B. H. CUNNINGTON). Devizes, 1923, pp. 204. 53 plates.

All Cannings Cross is of great importance because it has produced in considerable quantities remains of a period that is otherwise sparsely represented in Britain, the period of the Early Iron Age that corresponds with the transition on the Continent between the Hallstatt and La Tène I periods ranging roughly from 500 to 300 B.C.

The site is thought to have been inhabited by Celtic invaders from Central Europe, who reached Britain in one of the earlier waves of that movement of Celtic peoples which began about the end of the Bronze Age and carried them to Rome in 390 B.C. and to Galatia in the third century. The length of the occupation, two hundred years, is an estimate possibly on the conservative side from the quantity of the remains. No reason why the site was abandoned has been discovered.

These Celts seem to have been an unprogressive folk in respect of their material civilisation, for in spite of the mass of finds 'there appears to be no appreciable change in the type of pottery in use during the whole time.' And though long-continued tillage might be held to account in general for the disturbance of any stratification that might have existed, this would not have affected the remains that had found their way into the numerous storage pits, one at least of which had been completely choked with rubbish before the abandonment of the site. Yet these pits showed no stratification.

The type of wattle and daub hut would seem to have been rectangular, which is interesting in view of the rectangular form of the earliest huts at Glastonbury, for it is probable on other grounds that the occupation at All Cannings Cross came to an end about the time that it began at Glastonbury. In the case of more than one hut traces of the pavement of an outer yard were found.

The author traces the types of the hand-made pottery from the continental wares of the Lausitz group and its allied types, and the makers it is suggested left traces of their passage through Gaul to Britain in the pottery of similar type that has been found in the Marne district.

The publication has been admirably done. A discussion of the general questions connected with the site is followed by a general description of the objects found, including the animal, vegetable and mineral remains dis-

cussed by specialists, while the photographs and drawings, each plate with its letterpress, afford a comprehensive view of the culture of the period. Moreover, while fully adequate, the work has avoided the fashion of over sumptuousness which has sometimes threatened to be a fatal check on publication.

J. P. DROOP.

Roman York. The Legionary Headquarters and Colonia of Eboracum.

By GORDON HOME. 204 pp., with 31 plates and 22 drawings in the text. London, Ernest Benn Ltd., 1924.

This book falls into two halves, a history of the town of York under the Romans which is practically a history of the whole of the north of Britain, and a reconstruction of the town, or description of what it must have been like at the various periods from its first rise as an armed camp, probably on the site of the early capital of the Brigantes, through its golden age in the time of Constantine to its gradual decline.

The book is frankly popular in the best sense. It is clearly written to rouse the enthusiasm of the citizens of York, perhaps with the hope of stirring them to fruitful excavations, and it is content, possibly wisely, to be to a certain extent elementary and not to waste space on barren controversies, no hint, for instance, being given of the long doubt as to the date of the Tyne-Solway stone-faced wall.

A picture is presented of the town as continuous as possible, and to achieve this where Eboracum does not appear on the historical scene the author falls back on quite legitimate conjectures. A not unfair example is the paragraph in which it is shown that even if Carausius was not murdered in Eboracum he must have been a familiar figure there. One conjecture, however, that has been made to the honour of York, Mr. Home resolutely tramples on. We can no longer believe that Constantine was born in Britain, still less in Eboracum.

The description of Eboracum and its people in the latter part of the volume gives a lively picture of life in Roman Britain. The book is complete with a map and plans, and among the many good illustrations we are particularly grateful for that of the gold medallion found at Beaurains near Arras in 1922, which depicts the release of Londinium from troops of Allectus by Constantius Chlorus in 296.

J. P. DROOP.

The Peloponnesos in the Bronze Age. By J. PENROSE HARLAND.
(*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. XXXIV, 1923.)

Professor Penrose Harland has written a very interesting article on the Bronze Age in the Peloponnesus. It is a clear and lucid attempt to combine the evidence from archaeology with the hints given by the early Greek dialects and traditions to form an intelligible story.

Perhaps its special value lies in the fact that throughout the interest is focused more on men than on things. Things, which furnish most of the evidence, are dealt with and many references are given to fuller descriptions, but Professor Harland thinks in terms of men. When we know the actions of men our tendency is not to trouble about material details, as, for instance, we find Shakspeare clothing Caesar in a doublet instead of a toga. Conversely, with the mind weighed down by the details of prehistoric finds, to rise above them is a difficult feat and one to be commended, for it lifts archaeology out of its dust, and brings it nearer to the level of history.

Professor Harland is a disciple of Messrs. Blegen and Wace, and upholds stoutly the independence of the mainland as against Crete. Indeed he goes further, for by way of emphasising the gradual nature of the Minoan influence on the mainland by a process of infiltration, a point on which he is very strong, denying any Cretan conquest, he extends the Middle Helladic period to the end of Late Minoan II, including in it Messrs. Blegen and Wace's Late Helladic I and Late Helladic II under the names Middle Helladic III and IV.

Briefly, Professor Harland's thesis is that in the Early Helladic period the Peloponnesus was inhabited by an Anatolian non-Indo-European 'Aigaian' stock which had displaced about 2500 B.C. the earlier Neolithic, possibly Indo-European, inhabitants, of whom traces have been found near Corinth. The Middle Helladic period began about 2000 B.C. with the immigration from Northern Greece of men of an Indo-European 'Minyan' stock who brought in the Arcadian dialect of Greek and held the land unconquered, though their art was influenced by the higher culture of Crete, till about 1400 B.C. when they were driven out by 'Achaians.' Some 'Minyans' were driven into the interior and remained independent. Others driven across the sea were perhaps responsible for the ruin of Knossos and the colonisation of Cyprus. The Late Helladic period, the true Mycenaean age (the old Late Helladic III), is the period when the Peloponnesus was held by the 'Achaians,' an Indo-European people speaking the north-western dialects of Greek and of practically the same stock as the Dorians, whose later invasion with the use of iron brought the Mycenaean age to an end about 1100 B.C. The names are, of course, as Professor Harland is careful to explain, purely arbitrary labels.

Now this thesis is so far satisfactory that it can be shown to be in fair agreement with the deductions that may be made from the Greek traditions and the distribution of the dialects. The evidence afforded by these is but slight in comparison with that drawn from archaeology, yet it has, I suspect, unconsciously been given undue weight in the framing of the thesis. The result is very neat, with no loose ends; but then so were the results achieved by Procrustes, who, though most of us may sympathise with him, is hardly to be taken as a model.

Without discussing in detail the evidence for and against a Minoan conquest of the Argolid, a question that must be left to those who have an

equally expert knowledge of Minoan and Helladic remains and does not really affect Professor Harland's main thesis, it may be permissible to point to the Cycladic culture of Melos in this period, and to remark that the effect left on the lay mind by the study of that culture, agreedly, I think, the result of commercial infiltration from Crete, is very different from the impression given by Mycenae and Tiryns.

Again the influence of the people who made the grey 'Minyan' pottery is well defined in the first Middle Helladic period and onwards, yet to give them credit for all the changes at the end of the Early Helladic period, and to postulate conquest and a change of race seems to imply forgetfulness of analogous developments of culture in Crete and the Cyclades, where a 'Minyan' conquest at that date is out of the question whatever may have happened in 1400 B.C.

But Professor Harland is most Procrustean when he proclaims a conquest and a change of people between his Middle and Late Helladic (*i.e.* between Late Helladic II and III), yet makes his 'Achaians' near akin to the later Greek Dorians. In other words the differences between Late Helladic II and III are for him sufficient to justify the supposition of a change of race, at any rate, from the users of the Arcadian to the users of the North-Western dialects, while the vastly greater differences that lie between the Mycenaean and the Greek are not.

If the 'Achaians' must be of the same stock as the Dorians, it is easier and more in accord with the archaeological evidence to suppose them to be the first of the post-Mycenaean invaders, in fact, to accept the tradition unmodified which says that the Heracleidae attempted to invade the Peloponnesus about a century before their traditional entry, for there is, in fact, some archaeological evidence that the people who brought in geometric pottery came in waves closely following one another. It is really only the desire not to differ too widely from Homer that makes the natural man like to identify the rulers of Late Helladic Mycenae with the 'Achaians,' and Professor Harland, who goes out of his way to assert that his Achaians of Mycenae never went to Troy, ought to be above this. After all, if the 'Achaians' have to be of near kin to the Dorians there might be much to be said, in spite of the absence from the Homeric poems of any tradition of a recent invasion, for Sir William Ridgeway's old view that the Epos was the work of a bard of the old bronze-using race, whatever that may have been, singing the deeds of his new iron-using masters, but often using traditional descriptions of the past bronze age culture.

Doubtless it is reactionary and unprogressive to regard Aegean culture, Cycladic, Minoan, and Helladic, with all their differences and developments, as essentially one, in spite of the foreign 'Minyan' element on the mainland, and even in its decay as essentially different from the 'geometric' culture which followed it. Yet any plan of progression, such as Professor Harland's, that involves shutting the eyes to the gulf that artistically separates the pre-Greek from the Greek seems to me self-condemned. For it was the mentality of the new people manifested in their developed

geometricity that supplied in the subsequent fusion the element of restraint and order which is the supreme quality of Greek art. The general exuberance of the Ægean artist is a stranger to it. A reference, however, to the *Cambridge Ancient History* would seem to show that it is not necessary to regard the Achaïans as of the same stock as the Dorians.

As far as the Achaïans are concerned it is in this point only that Professor Harland appears to differ from the writers in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, for both agree that they were a Greek-speaking race. But the theory of the Cambridge writers by admitting invasion and admixture by a new and strange stock after 1100 B.C. agrees with the evidence of archaeology and accounts for the changed spirit in classical Greece. Professor Harland's view does neither.

Here and there we have a hint that the author is less well acquainted with the Cretan side. Otherwise we should not find the statement that the 'Bee-hive' tomb 'does not really appear in Krete until Late Minoan III,' for though for the most part unpublished, the important Early and Middle Minoan tholoi of Mesara have been excavated and known for some years.

J. P. DROOP.

Assyrian Medical Texts, by R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford University Press.

Assyrian Medical Texts (Translations from the above), by the same. Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, Vol. XVII.

These two books, together with the author's *Assyrian Herbal*, which has since appeared, are the result of many years' work on a special section of the cuneiform literature—be it said, a most difficult and obscure section. The secret of Mr. Thompson's plans has long been public property (except, apparently, in Germany), and those who have been permitted occasional glimpses of the progress of his work have awaited with keen anticipation the appearance of what was evidently destined to be a most interesting and most important publication. And the event has proved no disappointment. In mere bulk of material the first of the above works is by far the most complete edition of Assyrian medical texts ever produced, containing as it does, on 107 plates, the copies of 660 tablets and fragments from Ashurbanipal's library. But, more than this, the whole has been subjected to careful editing and arranging, many fragments have been rejoined, many texts brought into their true context, and the whole number classified according to subject matter. These smooth pages show little mark of the scissors and paste, and of all the weary changes which the discovery of new fragments constantly demands, but let not the mere industry of the author be undervalued on that account. As to its happy result, the appearance speaks. Mr. Thompson can get more on a page, with admirable clarity, than any other copyist of cuneiform, and it may safely be assumed with him that errors and omissions will be reduced to

the very minimum of human fallibility. Of the contents, only the briefest summary is possible here. The remedies prescribed, both physic and magic, are arranged according to the affected parts of the body, head, eyes, forehead, mouth, ears, breast, stomach, intestines, seat, urine, etc. A few of the pieces are not strictly appropriate to this collection; they are diagnostic, and belong to one of the sub-headings of the great series 'When an incantation-priest goes to a sick man's house,' which is not concerned with the treatment of maladies.

If we have looked with any attention at the texts themselves, we shall turn with curiosity to the author's specimen translations—for these cover only the sections on the head and the eyes, the first twelve plates in the volume. And we shall note with thankfulness that Mr. Thompson's versions at least *mean* something, a quality which we have not always been exigent to demand from translators of such matter. Nor shall we be long in becoming convinced that his versions pretty generally mean what the Assyrians meant. The explanation of his success is not far to seek. He has realised that merely philological equipment, however complete, is totally inadequate to the understanding of a science of medicine, elementary and partly spurious as it may be; though, indeed, no reader will be inclined to overrate the importance of the merely pseudo-scientific in Assyrian medicine. The author has therefore devoted great pains to obtaining (1) a clear impression of the nature of the disease, and (2) a correct identification, both on linguistic and physical grounds, of the elements in the remedies propounded. The result is highly convincing, and such oddities as remain are mostly due to the Assyrian practitioners themselves, whose doses were often as drastic as their magic was fearsome. But Mr. Thompson steadily refuses either to write nonsense, or to content himself with a smooth and general rendering which suavely evades the point, and for both of these virtues the reader will be vastly grateful. If he be also an instructed reader, who knows by what cunning arts the learned and jealous scribe *haud facilem esse viam voluit*, he will not grudge the author his admiration as well. He will remember that no less a scholar than King Ashurbanipal himself complains of the difficulty of such crabbed literature.

A few suggestions of detail may perhaps be allowed as slight contributions towards the completion or perfecting of these excellent versions. Page 3, *baḥrussu*, 'its warmth,' abstract for concrete; p. 3, l. 10, *šum-ma i-na-saḥ i-na-aḥ GIŠ(?)MA(?)NU GAL.BI*, 'if it "tugs" then eases, [apply] bay in its large form (?),' or perhaps 'liberally'; p. 8, n. 2, the phrase is *ḪU+SI ŠA IB.ḪU*. There seems no warrant for transcribing *ḪU+SI* as *šam*, and the *IB.ḪU* is doubtless some kind of bird. On Plate 19, 5.3, the phrase is surely a gloss upon "*ḪU+SI-ra-ni*, not upon "*KUR.KUR*, as Mr. Thompson supposes. His revised identification of the latter plant may be found in *J. R. A. S.*, Oct. 1924 (=hellebore). P. 11, l. 16, 'a PA-stone of seven colours (or spots) of *ianibu*-stone,' and the PA-stone is *ia'ertu* according to the Ashur version of the 'Descent of Ishtar' (Langdon, *JSOR.*, III, 39). P. 14, n. 2, *NE.ZA.ZA (muša'irr anu)=*

'frog' is supported by a number of passages in omen-literature, e.g. 'If a river is full of *NE.ZA.ZA*,' and 'If a *NE.ZA.ZA* comes from a pool into the city'; it may be suggested that the *MUH.TUL.BI* (whose name signifies literally 'on his hill') is the mole. The phrase, n. 4, *KU.NIK.IB.SU.LAL* is defined in a recently published text as *ulap laputti*, which in turn is said to be 'fox flesh'—we are little the wiser! P. 16, *idguru* as an adjective has been shown to mean, not 'sharp,' but 'complicated, tortuous.' Nevertheless, 'needle' is probably right; a syllabary gives *LIS.NINDA.APIN*=*idgurti itti* as a part of the plough, perhaps a pin or bolt. P. 26, n. 4; why is *MUN.EME.SAL* translated as 'salt of Akkad'? No such equivalence appears to be known, and one must suppose that Mr. Thompson had in mind the ideogram *KUR.EME.KU* for Akkad. An interesting note on the significance of *EME.SAL*, at least as a linguistic term, appears in Sir Ernest Budge's preface to CT. xxxvii. P. 28, in the difficult charm, beginning with l. 25, one obstacle at least is removed by recognising that the signs *SA.A.NU*, which the author seeks to explain from Syriac, are in reality only a scribal trick, and are to be read *SA-a-nu*, i.e. *širanu*, 'sinew'; thus the following verb *uqannan* also becomes clear, and the phrase may now be translated 'sinew fosters sinew,' keeping up the metaphor from the young of birds. P. 32, in the charm, l. 11, the deity is not the god Ea, but the goddess Nammu (cf. *ina qati-ša*); n. 5, better, *uttubu*, as is clear from the Sumerian version (*SUD=tibū*), 'the wind which has sunk into the eye of the man'; the same word is used in 1 Sam. xvii. 49, of the stone from David's sling which sank into the forehead of Goliath.

Die altelamischen Steininschriften; ein neuer Beitrag zur Entzifferung,
von CARL FRANK.

This short brochure, of only some score of pages, is the author's amended version of the results obtained in an earlier study eleven years ago. It is not, however, merely a corrective appendix, though perusal of the former work is necessary in order to understand the author's method. The nine 'proto-Elamite' inscriptions on stone have since been personally studied and copied by Herr Frank at the Louvre; his copies are here reproduced, and the modifications of his former readings suggested either by the new collation or by farther study are set forth in the preceding pages. Finally there is given an amended sign-list, together with the syllabic values assigned by the author. If these be in any degree correct the notion of any affinity between the Elamite and Sumerian syllabaries would be inadmissible, as indeed might be judged from the great dissimilarity of the signs themselves, of which only a few have even a slight resemblance. It does not belong here to discuss Herr Frank's method, which was set forth in his earlier work. Its principles, however, were sound, and it may be admitted that, allowing for the paucity of the material and for our very limited knowledge of the Elamite language (even when written in

Babylonian script), the decipherment may well be correct. Herr Frank is surely over cautious in doubting the equivalence $BA\dot{A}-\dot{S}A=puzru\ \dot{s}a$, which we had supposed established by the early Assyrian king-lists.

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To this number, which includes a paper by Mr. E. H. Parker upon 'Sound and Symbol in Chinese' and one by Mr. John Lewis on 'The Mother Worship in Egypt,' Professor Calder contributes 'Some Notes on Anatolian Religion.' They arise out of the elucidation of some Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor of imperial date, which are here published by an acknowledged expert in this particular field. Professor Calder gives an interesting example of the tomb with a shrine for relics above it, and discusses the relation of the pagan prototypes to the Christian combination of grave below and martyr's relics above (Gregory Naz., *Anth. Pal.*, VIII, 118). In another section a re-examination of the Nannakos legend in the light of Anatolian place-names brings fresh evidence that the Flood of Nannakos is independent of Semitic tradition and is not a Jewish importation of Hellenistic times. Nannakos has nothing to do with Enoch.

But it is perhaps the first inscription which raises the most interesting points in connection with the Story of Perseus. The tangled possibilities of the relation of its various forms is perhaps more intricate than Professor Calder realises. Something of this intricacy I hope shortly to demonstrate in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. That the name of Perseus became associated with divine engineering in the Plain of Konia is interesting, but to fix a date when the association commenced is not easy. More instructive is the suggestion, based upon the evidence of place-names, that the word *kibisis*, which Hesychius thought to be a Cypriote word, is really Lycaonian. The importance of this lies in the fact that *kibisis*, which is certainly not a Greek word and is only used in the technical sense of the magical wallet of Perseus, is established in a form of the Perseus story which is as early as Hesiod's poem on the *Shield*. The *harpe* or oriental scimitar does not come into the story, so far as I know, before the fifth century B.C.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles. LOUIS SPELEERS. Bruxelles, 1923.

Les textes des pyramides égyptiennes. Tome premier, traduction: tome deuxième, vocabulaire. LOUIS SPELEERS. Bruxelles, 1923.

Le costume oriental ancien. LOUIS SPELEERS. Bruxelles, 1923.

M. Speleers continues to produce work at a terrific pace; the three publications before us all bear the date 1923, and even they do not exhaust

his output for that year. His *Recueil* is a useful work, equipped with translations and very complete indices. Its appearance is not attractive. The autolithographic method does not produce beautiful books, though it has proved an immense boon to Egyptology in enabling material to be published, the cost of producing which by any other method would have been prohibitive. At the same time, though autolithography can never be beautiful, there are degrees of ugliness, and M. Speleers' work in this respect compares unfavourably with, for instance, the parallel publication of the Berlin Museums. The inscriptions are far too crowded and the paper is very poor. The usual reply to this complaint is that under present conditions it is a choice between this and nothing, and if this is really so there is no more to be said. We are, however, not quite so pessimistic as to believe this; if all the Egyptologist's most useful volumes are to be of this type his library will become a perfect chamber of horrors.

We must be grateful to M. Speelers for his translation of the Pyramid Texts. Of living Egyptologists there is probably only one who is qualified to give us a translation of these very difficult texts, and that one is Sethe. For his edition we must still wait a while, and in the meantime M. Speelers has given us what may be called a very creditable makeshift. He has by no means underrated the difficulty of his task. It would be futile for one who has never made a special study of these texts to attempt any detailed criticism of the translations, and it must suffice to say that the renderings here given are at least based on grammatical and syntactical principles learnt in the right school. For the sake of the non-Egyptologist it should be added that in many cases the texts might, without violence to the Egyptian, be very differently translated, and extreme caution should be used in basing conclusions as to Egyptian beliefs on the renderings given. We regret that in this case, where the autographic method seems to have nothing whatever to recommend it, M. Speleers did not have the book set up in type. It is true that the indices must still have been, partially at least, in autograph, but no one would have found fault with this inconsistency, even if accompanied by a slight increase in price, for the gain in clearness and appearance would have been so great. Once again, the quality of the paper is very bad.

The author's book on Oriental Costume is not one of his best pieces of work. The first sixty pages contain a description of the early costume of Nearer Asia, of which we are not competent to judge. But when M. Speelers proceeds in thirteen pages, plus an unsatisfactory and incomplete index, to dismiss the vast and attractive subject of Egyptian costume, we are bound to ask ourselves whether this was worth doing at all and for precisely what kind of reader it is intended. The section is accompanied by one small and singularly unattractive plate.

T. ERIC PEET.

Egyptian Mummies. By G. ELLIOT SMITH and WARREN R. DAWSON,
with woodcuts by A. HORACE GERRARD and K. LEIGH-PEMBERTON.
London, 1924.

This book far outdistances all previous works on the same subject. Of the authors Professor Elliot Smith has undoubtedly a closer acquaintance with mummies and mummification than any man living, and Mr. Dawson has for several years past been in close touch with him in his Egyptian researches. The book is so written as to attract both the professional Egyptologist and the layman, and should be assured of a very large sale, for it is an interesting subject treated in an interesting and authoritative way. A few will admire and enjoy the woodcuts, some of which are extremely clever and attractive, though in many instances they fail (Figs. 19, 33, and 59). At the same time I cannot help thinking that photographs would have been more suitable; the conventional work of a woodcut often fails to distinguish skin or bone from binding, which is the first essential in depicting a mummy.

Nothing that might be said here could either add to or detract from the value of nine-tenths of the book, where Professor Elliot Smith is on ground which he has made his own and where his opinion, at least on matters of observation, must be law. Moreover, the authors have very wisely, as they tell us in the Preface, avoided any discussion at length of the effects of mummification on the civilisation of the world in general. The subject will out, however, and takes the bit in its teeth in the second half of the introduction, in which I suspect the hand of Professor Elliot Smith holds the reins. In these six pages there is found that confusion of fact and theory which is so fatal to archaeological progress. Thus on p. 26 we find it stated that the practice of mummification is closely connected in Egypt with a belief in immortality. This may be true, but we are then told that this 'has been demonstrated in a novel way by Mr. W. J. Perry,' who finds that in Crete and Sumer 'where embalming was not practised in early times there is no trace of the conception of immortality such as was being shaped in Egypt.' On looking up the reference given to Mr. Perry's *Origin of Magic and Religion* (p. 68) I was astonished to find that Mr. Perry there claims to demonstrate nothing whatsoever, either in a novel or un-novel way. He merely suggests the connection. Obviously neither he nor any one else can prove it, for the belief in immortality can perfectly well exist without being accompanied by mummification, as it does to-day. In any case Mr. Perry does not in the passage quoted even state that in Sumer and Crete there was 'no trace of the conception of immortality,' as the authors aver: in the case of Crete at any rate, where we have as yet no deciphered records, he would be very foolhardy if he did.

I have rather laboured this point, but it is necessary, for it illustrates one of the greatest obstacles to progress in archaeological work, I mean the habit of quoting a mere hypothesis or suggestion of a previous writer

preceded by some such *cliché* as 'It is certain that' or 'It has been shown that' or 'There can be little doubt that.' Nowhere is this practice more prevalent than in Egyptology. Which of us has not had the experience of finding in the course of some minute research that a 'fact' confidently stated by a modern author rests on nothing firmer than the wild guess of some Egyptologist of the last century, taken over in the same light-hearted way as that which we have just been discussing.

The authors should note that the question of the *ka* and the *ba* is by no means so clear as they suppose on p. 26. There is not a shred of evidence, as Junker has long since pointed out, for calling the funerary portraits *ka*-statues—another good example of a hypothesis which has passed into 'fact' in the text-books, this time by the aid of a simple hyphenation—and it would be hard to prove from the Egyptian texts that what became 'deified in identification with Osiris' was the *ba*. Moreover the description of the *ka* and *ba* as *twin* souls of the dead gives a false impression.

On pp. 28 and 29 the authors are, if I understand them rightly, enunciating the belief that the whole of religious worship in Egypt originated in the ceremonies connected with the burial and nourishment of dead and deified kings, even the figures of the gods being in origin nothing more than the '*ka*-statues' of ancient monarchs. Such an idea conflicts with nearly all the evidence, but as the authors have confined themselves to a series of unproved statements on the subject we are not called upon to rebut it. I fear that Professor Elliot Smith's Egyptian Great Mother Goddess will not be too pleased about his new idea, for I can see no place for her in such a scheme.

The authors are rather apt to overestimate the importance of things funerary in Egyptian life. Thus on p. 29 we read that 'elaboration of tombs was the mainspring of architectural progress under the Pharaohs.' Surely the making of houses, temples, and palaces must have been quite as important. Then we find a few lines further on that 'the art of fine woodwork was developed from the making of coffins.' On the contrary, many of the early coffins imitate wooden architectural models. Similarly it is stated on p. 30 that the importance of the burial customs led to the 'conscious improvement and elaboration, in the interests of the dead, of metal work, jewellery, and ceramics.' Is not this a perverted point of view? The majority of objects placed in the tomb, more particularly the metal work and jewellery, appear to have been objects used by the dead person in life. The Egyptians were a people who loved beautiful things and it would be the greatest mistake to imagine that they only thought of them in connection with burial. The living, too, had their 'interests.' On the other hand, statuary and painting, like architecture, owed much, though not all, to funerary uses.

On pp. 30-31 we have a short statement of the authors' belief in the world-wide influence of the early Egyptian civilisation. Among the practices to which an Egyptian origin is given—those acquainted with

Professor Elliot Smith's works will know how numerous they are—are the *couvade* and artificial deformation of the head. It would be interesting to know what is the evidence for the practice of *couvade* in Egypt, and as for artificial deformation of the head I can find no cases except that mentioned in this volume and admitted by the authors to be doubtful (see below).

The above remarks mainly concern the general theories contained in the introduction. There are a few small points of detail in the rest of the volume.

On pp. 37-38 we read that some jars found by Mr. Winlock containing the refuse of embalmers' shops lay in rope sling-nets, and the authors add that 'two similar sets of jars in sling-nets and hung upon poles for carrying were found' in a tomb at Kurnah by Petrie 'which had doubtless served a similar purpose.' But where is the similarity? The jars in question were totally different in size and shape, nothing seems to have been found in them, and the sole resemblance lies in the fact that in both cases sling-nets had been used for carrying, a perfectly ordinary practice in Egypt. In other words, the argument is from an accidental resemblance to an essential. We should hardly have noted this point except for the fact that this is precisely the sort of statement which is likely to appear in some future book preceded by the words 'It has been shown that.'

On p. 73 the famous mummified arm from the tomb of King Zer at Abydos is mentioned without comment. We have always thought that Elliot Smith was unkind to this arm. There is nothing to prove that it is that of the wife of King Zer, but if the illustrations backed by Petrie's own statements are to be credited it was certainly wrapped in linen. Moreover the style of the hawk bracelet with its crude horizontal-bodied birds on the *srekh* undoubtedly points to the First Dynasty, and we should be inclined to take the piece as good evidence for Elliot Smith's own belief that attempts at mummification were already being made in this epoch.

As might have been expected, the mummy of Akhenaten occupies a considerable place in the work. Elliot Smith on his first examination of this mummy gave it as his opinion, based mainly on the condition of the bones, that the king was at death not more than twenty-five or twenty-six, or at the outside thirty years of age. Since he reigned at least seventeen years, this involved the belief that he came to the throne at a maximum age of thirteen, and that at seventeen he had already carried out an immense religious revolution. Although this is not impossible in the East most archaeologists find it hard to accept, and if we reject it there are two possibilities open to us. Either we must suppose that the body examined by Elliot Smith was not that of Akhenaten, as Sethe has proposed, or we may follow Elliot Smith in his latest suggestion that the king suffered from a very rare disease, one of the effects of which is to delay the consolidation of the bones, so that the body may be much older than at

first sight appeared. I cannot help feeling sorry that Professor Elliot Smith has advanced this possibility, though there is nothing unreasonable in it *a priori*. It is based on nothing more than the 'peculiar configuration of Akhenaten's body, as depicted in his statues and bas-reliefs,' coupled with a slight degree of hydrocephalus in the skull. Yet I can find nothing in the configuration of the king's body which is not to be found in those of all his court and his people, and if once we are to admit exceptions to the rule then all medical evidence as to the age of mummies based on the amount of ossification becomes suspect. For nearly twenty years we have believed in Elliot Smith's limit of thirty for the age of Akhenaten and shaped our ideas of his history to suit this, and this new suggestion strikes a heavy blow at the value of anatomical evidence. The authors treat in complete silence Sethe's article referred to above, which is a very reasonable and serious attack on the authenticity of the body. If Sethe does not prove his case he does at least bring forward arguments which should have been met in this book.

With regard to the curiously shaped heads of Akhenaten's daughters in relief and painting the authors rightly suggest the possibility that they are not true to nature but also hint at the possibility of head-binding. If this is the only Egyptian evidence for the practice we see little justification for its categorical inclusion on p. 31 among the features of Egyptian civilisation which afterwards spread over the world. It is difficult to believe that either nature or art had endowed these two young ladies with skulls quite so grotesque as would appear from their pictures, and, if the form be not a mere freak of the artist, the possibility that it represents an elaborate coiffure should perhaps not be overlooked.

The spelling Aahmosis (p. 87) is surely indefensible. The *-is* is purely a Greek ending and should only be used if a full Greek form is employed. The curiously worded reference to Herodotus, '*Euterpe*, Bk. II' (p. 126, *cf.* p. 18) arouses in us a suspicion which is doubtless quite unfounded.

T. ERIC PEET.

Several reviews are unavoidably held over to the next number.